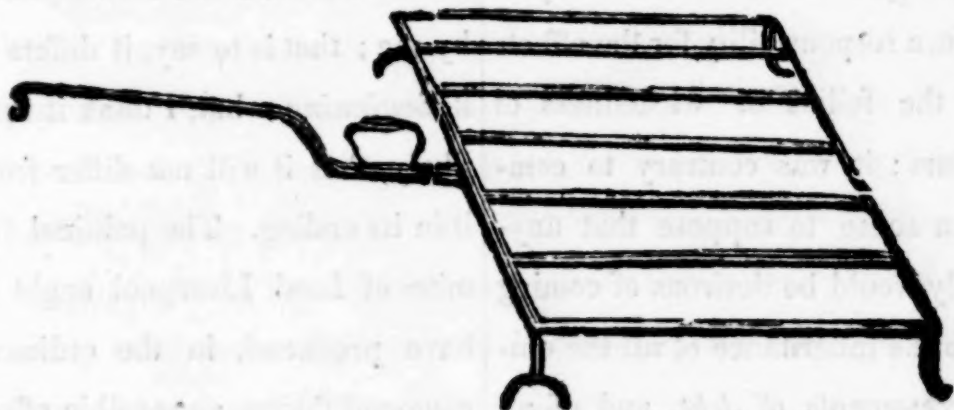


COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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“ Your merry facetious men seldom penetrate farther than the superficialities of things; which is the very seat of a Jest.”—LORD BACON. *Essay on Rhetoric.*

“ This is a business of virtue, not a trial of wit. Who is there that would not rather have a Healing, than a Rhetorical Physician? But, for esteeming any man purely upon the score of his Rhetorick, I would as soon chuse a Pilot for a good Head of Hair.”—SENECA. *Epistle II.*

WHO IS TO BE MINISTER?

Kensington, 4th April, 1827.

I HAVE often had to observe, that I thought it likely, that one of the steps leading to a destruction of the funding and paper-money system, would be a sort of *breaking up* of the Ministry. Not a mere change of Ministers; but a

sort of new modelling; and that this would arise from the great difficulties that would exist in the carrying on of the affairs of the Government. It was very clear that, when the system arrived at a certain point of danger, all men of real worth and wisdom would

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[ENTERED AT STATIONERS' HALL.]



keep aloof from it. Such men, if they were to be found in the country, could never be expected to take upon them, without compulsion, a responsibility for the effects of the follies or wickedness of others: it was contrary to common sense to suppose that anybody would be desirous of coming into the inheritance of all the embarrassments of *debt*, and of all the obloquy attending the means of meeting that debt. I thought, and I have repeatedly expressed my opinion, that, when the system came to be in a state of obvious peril, the Ministers, who were in place, and who happened to possess any thing approaching to discernment and foresight, would seize some opportunity for retiring; that there would be found, however, enough persons of some sort or other, willing to take their places; that these would, most likely, be for trying some new scheme or other; and that, the machine, once put out of its usual course, would tumble to pieces

without one hardly knowing why or how.

The state in which we now are, differs from the one contemplated by me; that is to say, it differs in its *beginning*; but, I think it very likely, that it will not differ from it in its ending. The political demise of Lord Liverpool ought to have produced, in the ordinary course of things, no sensible effect at all. To the whole machine of Government, he was no more than the little bit of leather that the waggoner puts through the eye of the linch-pin; but, if the waggoner leave out the bit of leather, the linch-pin comes out, the wheel comes off the axle-tree, and, especially if it be heavily laden, crack comes the wagon to the ground. The place of this bit of leather would, in other times, have been supplied in a moment, without the smallest difficulty or delay; but now, the situation of this bit of leather is a situation by no means desirable to men whose ambition is under the control of wisdom; and, there-

fore, we see weeks and even months elapse without the deficiency being supplied.

We have seen the strangest things happen, as to this matter, that ever were witnessed in the world. But, the strangest of them all is, that there should be even a thought existing in any rational mind, that those who have the power of choosing Prime Ministers, should think of making choice of Mr. Canning. Yet, if we are to believe the brothers of the broad-sheet, the thing is already determined upon, and we are to have the honour, at last, of having the Captain of Eton for the prime adviser of our King. Let me observe, here, that, of all the things in this world, that which I myself most desire, is, *to see the system in the hands of this man!* I want the system to be brought to an end. I am not given to be impatient upon this subject. I have never met with any politician so patient as myself; so willing to wait for the consummation of things; so willing to wait, pa-

tiently, for the overthrowing of that which I abhor. But, the thing cannot come *too soon*, even for me. I want to see the thing accomplished: I am satisfied there is no man on earth who would hasten the accomplishment like this man; who would so soon convince even the wilfully blind, that this system ought to stand no longer; and, therefore, I most anxiously wish that he may be Prime Minister, which, alone, I will bargain to take beforehand, as full compensation made by the system to me for all the evils that I have ever experienced at its hands; and, I hereby declare, that his appointment as Prime Minister, shall be deemed to be, shall be taken to be, and shall be, a receipt in full of all demands given by me to the system.

But, in addressing myself to my readers, I must not suffer my wishes to misguide my pen. At this time those readers will naturally wish to know what is my opinion about *who is to be Minister*. It is impossible for me,

who never see any of the parties engaged in the intrigues that are going on; who never see any body that ever sees them; it is impossible for me to be able to give any information upon the subject, founded on any positive facts relating to it. I can have no foundation for my opinion but that which is furnished by the reason of the case itself. I know that men very seldom act contrary to their known and obvious interests. I know that nobody can be Minister for more than about a month or six weeks against the will of the owners of the land of this country, and who are owners, also, of some other very valuable things, which, for the present, shall be nameless. I know that a great many of these persons are said, and I believe truly, not to be overburthened with sense; but I have never heard of any one of them who was quite so foolish as to prefer rags and a bit of dry bread and naked feet cut by the flints, to fine clothes, sumptuous living, and a snug carriage to ride

in: and, I know that men must prefer the rags and the crust and the naked feet to the good things before mentioned, if they have those good things, arising out of landed estates, and if they choose Mr. CANNING as the lord of their destiny: he being, in my opinion, of all men living, the man to bring their "noble to ninepence, and their ninepence to nothing."

The brothers of the broad sheet, Mr. Brougham's best public instructor, assure us, upon their honour, for the goodness of which honour each is ready to pledge his pair of shoes without heels: they assure us upon their "*sacred honour*," that the whole nation are calling aloud for Mr. Canning as Prime Minister. This is what is called, I believe, the *puff indirect*: it is telling the readers of the broad sheet what the nation is wanting. That is to say, every individual reader is to believe that *every other person but himself*, at any rate, wishes Mr. Canning to be Minister. This is an old, hackneyed, vulgar,

most vulgar mode of puffing; and an ineffectual mode, too; because, as far as it is believed, it deadens the exertion, if he be capable of any, of the reader. This is, however, a most stupid puff: it is wholly false, and it is wholly unlikely to be true. What part of the nation is for Mr. Canning? If you want to know what the Lords think of him, read their speeches and listen to their laughs. As to the people at large, in what way; in what document; in what petition or what address have they uttered a syllable in approbation of this man? He has been the most unmeasured, the most rude, the most merciless, the most insolent assailant of all those, be they of what description they might, who have stood forward, who have dared to open their lips in the cause of public liberty. If we trace him from his very first entrance into the House of Commons about six and thirty years ago, down to the present day, we shall find that there never has been one act tending to abridge the political

and civil liberties of the people, which he has not defended and applauded. In the passing of the Power-of-Imprisonment Bill in 1817, though not, properly speaking, in the Ministry at the time, he was the great advocate for the measure. In 1818, when the Bill was renewed, he was again the advocate, standing foremost of the whole; and, upon this occasion it was, that he cracked his jokes upon the rupture of Ogden. In the affair of SIX ACTS, he was again the most noisy of all the champions of that new code of grinding laws: amongst which was one law (still in force) to compel printers and publishers to give security, *even before they began to print*, for the payment of any fines that might be inflicted upon them *in case they should* print or publish a libel; and, amongst which was another law (still in force) rendering liable to *banishment for life*, any man who might print or publish any thing, having even a *tendency* to bring the House

of Commons (of which he himself was a Member) into *contempt*!

Monstrous, then, is it to suppose, that this man can be a favourite with the people at large; monstrous, indeed, to suppose that this man, who has reviled the people more than any man that I ever knew or ever heard of in my life; monstrous that they should wish to see him at the head of the advisers of the king! And, as to persons who have no kind of public spirit within them; who rather approved than disapproved of his constant and bitter hostility to the friends of freedom and reform: how it is to be believed that such men can wish to see him in an office of great power: to see him the PILOT in this perilous storm? Where is there a man who ever said so many foolish things as this man has said? That part of Rochester's epitaph on CHARLES the Second: that "he never said a foolish thing and never did a wise one," would not suit this witty gentleman; for, though he never yet did a wise thing in his public

capacity, no man ever said so many foolish things. A bare string of them, with a short explanation of each; a bare string of those which I myself could recollect, and that I have noticed in print, too, would fill this whole Register. It admits of clear proof that it was his jesting despatches which produced the late most disastrous and disgraceful war with the United States of America. Nothing admits of clearer proof than this; for, though he was not Secretary of State at the time when that war began, his despatches were the real causes of that war; and, is there an Englishman who can now look at the maritime force of those United States of America, and who can think of his contemptuous sneer (in open Parliament) at the half dozen fir frigates with bits of striped bunting at their mast heads; is there an Englishman, who can thus look and thus think, and not blush for his country, when he reflects that this man has been living upon the labours of her people from that day to

this, and that there is now a press, infamous enough to be extolling to the skies and wanting to cram down the throat of the King, this very jester on the bits of striped bunting ?

However, that which plodding, selfish men, will be most likely to keep in view is, his conduct with regard to that all-important matter the *paper-money*. He, together with his colleague, Mr. Huskisson, were of the Bullion party, in 1810. In 1819, he called upon the House for an unanimous vote in favour of Peel's Bill, in order to set the question at rest for ever. In the summer of 1825, he gave the most solemn pledge that, let what would happen, he never would consent to return to Bank Restriction again. In 1826, he defended a Bill for the abolition of one-pound-notes at the end of three years ; and he made use of arguments, and put forward assertions, and laid down principles, the whole of which, together with the most solemn pledges, he must abandon, in manner the most

barefaced, or really, and in good truth and almost literally, let the furies of war out of his leash.

If he were to be Prime Minister (and this is why I wish he may) he *must persevere with the present law*. He cannot retract : he cannot move an inch from the stake that he has bound himself to, and there must be an end to the system. I wish to see that end ; but, the far greater part of those who have money and estates, wish for no such thing. Such persons, too, are astounded at the hair-brained enterprise with regard to Portugal, the equal of which, taking all things into view, was certainly never seen before. Men naturally ask themselves what is to become of them, if a head like this is to *preside*. Here are a large part of the expenses of an ordinary war, for no earthly purpose that any man can assign : for a mere whim, it would seem ; and, then the speech, which was corrected and published in a pamphlet, came to crown the whole of a series of such childish proceed-

ings, as are shocking but to think of, and that never could have come into the head of any one not of the character described in the words of that part of my motto, which is taken from Lord BACON. It is very pretty to hear jesting: nothing is more amusing than to see and hear the player-folks; but, when the affairs of a nation are to be managed, who yet ever thought of intrusting the management to a jester ?

I believe, that there are no description of persons in the country, who do not, as I do, wish this paper-system to be destroyed, together with all the misrule and miseries that arise out of it, that can possibly wish this man to be the Minister. The newspaper fellows wish it; but, then, they regard him as *belonging to the corps*, to the regiment of the newspaper press. They can say what they like, in their sheets. They think themselves the nation, and therefore, they say that the nation, with one united voice, call out for him to be the Minister. As I told Mr.

BROUGHAM some time ago, *newspaper praise* is very fine, but does not wear well; and I reminded him, that old Sherry discovered that, when it was too late. The newspapers very often make matches, even, almost, in spite of the parties; but, I have never yet heard of one single public man, who was a great favourite with the newspapers, that was confided in by the public. The public read newspapers; often swallow their lies; but, in the long run, they detect the lies; and, in a case like this, they have so many other means of judging of the party that is praised, that the praise thus bestowed, does little more than excite suspicions that make against him. If the newspapers have an advantage in some cases, in keeping hidden the authors of their contents, they have, in the case of praise bestowed by them, this very great disadvantage, that the party praised, is suspected to be the author of it himself, or to have paid for its inser-

tion, every inch of every column being well known to be saleable.

So much, then, for the wishes of the nation upon this point. But that Mr. Canning's wishes are pretty strong is evident enough. There appears to have been an intrigue, or something very much like an intrigue, going on for a long while, between him and those ridiculous gentry that are still called the *Whigs*. They have been complimenting him for some years; holding him up in the way of contrast with his associates in power; endeavouring to give him a character and a degree of weight with the people, not for the sake of good to him, but for the sake of mischief to his colleagues; endeavouring to make him great in order to diminish the power of his associates in the government. This has been so palpable that every body has seen it. Even BURDETT, who had talked about the "*crib*," and who had said, upon various occasions, every thing against him that man could well say, has joined in these com-

pliments to him, and for what reason other than the very suspicious one that I have just mentioned, it would, I believe, puzzle the Baronet to tell. At the time when the French were marching into Spain, it was manifest that the parts were arranged before hand, which this Prime Minister and Mr. BROUGHAM were to act. On the recent affair of the Portuguese expedition, when the *Æolian* speech was made, the latter gentleman over-acted his part; for he applauded to the skies all those "*truly English sentiments*" which the Right Honourable Secretary had, in less than a week afterwards, *to retract*, in a new edition of his speech, with additions and amendments! Nor are there wanting persons to express their belief that it is quite within the compass of possibility that, the other night, Mr. Canning knew, or at least was pretty well able to guess, at what my old correspondent, TIERNEY, was going to say, before either of them entered the House! To be plain, I thought this the

moment I saw the report; and several persons have made to me the same observation before hearing my opinion upon the subject.

It is clear that Mr. Canning rests upon the Whigs. His publishing his speech at Ridgway's, his compliments to the Whigs, and theirs bestowed on him; these things can leave no doubt in the mind of any man that he rests upon them as a sort of scarecrows; a sort of body which he can join, if he be not gratified on his own side of the House. But, before he places much reliance upon these gentry he ought to consider a little what these gentry are worth in themselves; and if he were thus to consider, he would find that they were worth not one straw; that they have no reputation with the rich, and that they are detested by the common people. Those of his colleagues, therefore, who are opposed to him, need not fear him on this account; and I sincerely believe that they do not. His chance of being Minister appears to

consist in this; that it is possible that some of the most powerful of the present Ministers, seeing the state in which things are, and wishing to get away from the approaching responsibility, may, in their new arrangements, insist, even unreasonably, on *his exclusion*; and that they may do this with the view of having an excuse, if refused, for *retiring themselves*. This I think not impossible. It is certainly what I would do, if I were in their situation. It appears evident, that the whole of his schemes; that the whole of his and Huskisson's measures must be abandoned, or that they must have *the whole mess to themselves*; upon the principle mentioned by Swift:

"Thus, when the dirty sloven once has thrown

"His — into the mess, 'tis all his own."

This I think possible; and, then, stand clear! For, then, on comes the system upon us, back stroke and fore stroke, tooth and nail. I mention this as a *possibility*, without pretending to say that I believe that it will be so; for,

not being jackass enough to pretend even to be able to guess at the thoughts of the King upon the subject, I know how mighty are those interests which are opposed, and must be opposed, to this man being Prime Minister. He cannot be that and continue that, for any length of time, without having the nobility and the gentry with him: he must, in fact, be their man, or he cannot be Minister. I, then, put it to myself, and suppose that I have a title and a thundering estate: it is against nature that I should not wish to preserve these, and I must be the blindest of all mortals if I do not clearly see, that his being Minister would put them in jeopardy. If there were nothing else, there is the *Catholic Question*, as it is called, which he would be compelled to bring forward and to carry, or keep his place in a state of disgrace insupportable. He would not have, for a contrary conduct, even the miserable apology of Pitt in 1804, and which apology he repeated the other day;

namely, that he could not stir the question *during the life of the old King*. That apology was not worth a straw; but, at any rate, it implied that, if Pitt had remained Minister until the death of his late Majesty, he was bound to carry the question or to retire from his office. It would never do for Mr. Canning to tell us that he could not stir the question during the life of the present King, for that excuse would be as good in the case of the present King's successor; so that here would be a shuffle the most barefaced that ever was practised, even at the Cocoa-tree or at Newmarket. This would never do. He must bring forward and carry the Catholic Question; or, he must retire. And, to carry that question, what is it, short of taking from the aristocracy a very considerable part of the whole of their estates? For, is there a man of sincerity and sense, who does not see and plainly acknowledge, that an immediate consequence of the carrying of that question would

be a *repeal* of the Church of Ireland ; that is to say, a taking away of the whole of the immense property of that Church from that aristocracy who now, in fact, possess it ?

I have always stated this. Look into the Register of 1811 and 1812. I there stated that I had no idea of any change in favour of the Catholics which did not include a repeal of the Protestant establishment of Ireland. I have always been for emancipation, as it is called, upon this ground. I know that every thing short of this is delusive. I know that the concession that is now demanded and that it is pretended would be satisfactory, would produce no satisfaction at all. It is not the exclusion from silk-gowns, the exclusion from the seats in Parliament, the exclusion from the Bench and from high ranks in the army and the navy, and from seats in the King's council ; it is not these things that affect the millions of Ireland ; it is the paying to support a Protestant hierarchy ; it is the pay-

ing to support churches of the building of their ancestors to which they never go ; it is, in short, the Protestant hierarchy, the dominion of the Protestant clergy : this is the galling thing, and without a riddance from which, no peace will ever be enjoyed in Ireland.

The opponents of Catholic Emancipation, as it is called, maintain that, without going the length which I would go, nothing good would be effected ; they insist that to go the length that I would go would be a great evil ; the advocates for the Catholic claims affect to agree with them as to the latter ; and thus it is that the advocates for the claims are always defeated, not only in the division but in the argument. The speech of the Master of the Rolls, in the late debate, was wholly unanswerable ; and, by the bye, the answer of Mr. Canning to that speech, if he had never done any thing else during his whole life-time worthy of disapprobation, was a great deal more than suffi-

cient to prove that he was wholly unfit for a Minister ; for, piqued by the triumphant speech of the Master of the Rolls, what does he do but divulge, and that, too, in the way of jest, an opinion given at the request of the cabinet council! Not an opinion given to himself, by the Attorney and Solicitor-General ; not an opinion given to him, merely as Secretary of State ; but an opinion given to the King's ministers in Council, or, at least, this is what I gather from his own statement in the debate.

The flabbergaster speech-makers in Ireland, and, particularly, the famous Counsellor Bric, whose nuptials my poetical friend has so lately celebrated, have dealt out abundant reproaches upon me, because I said that nobody attempted to answer the speeches of Mr. WETHERELL and Mr. BANKS, made in 1825. They took precisely the same ground as the Master of the Rolls has recently taken. They said, to express their meaning in few words, this emancipation that you ask is

nonsense, unless you mean to upset the Protestant hierarchy. I would upset it, as completely as a brewer's man tumbles down a barrel ; I would *repeal* it just as HARRY the Eighth repealed the Catholic Church ; I would, to use that old buck's very expression, "betake myself to its temporalities," and apply them to far other uses. MESSRS. COPLEY, WETHERELL and BANKS say that this would be a terrible evil and wrong. I say that it would be a good and no wrong : they and I have this preliminary question to discuss : if we agree upon that, we can go on ; but, Mr. Canning yields the preliminary point : he concedes to them that the Protestant hierarchy ought to be secured in all its power and all its glory ; and then they beat him so shamefully that he flies in a passion, and, like worsted disputants of the other sex, rips up that which ought always to have remained a secret.

However, if he become Prime Minister, things will be wholly changed with him. If pressed

(and he will not want pressing), he must bring the question forward; he must carry that question; or he must retire. This is so clear, that there can be no doubt about the matter. He has a vast majority against him, amongst all those that have the power to oppose such a measure. To carry the measure, therefore, he must shift the power into other hands; and I see not how he is to do that without abandoning that dearest object of his most tender affections, *Old Sarum*! "I will," said he, in one of his poetically impudent flights, "*I will* disfranchise Grampound, BECAUSE I will preserve *Old Sarum*." He would not disfranchise Grampound because Grampound had been proved to be corrupt; but he would disfranchise a borough where there were, perhaps, a hundred or two of electors, because he would preserve a thing called a borough, where there were no electors at all! Yet, this object of his tender affections he must give up; and he must, in short, come and join

us radicals (sorry, no doubt, that Ogden is not alive to embrace him), or he must quit his place; for, carry that Catholic question he never can, unless with radical aid.

This, then, is a pretty sort of man to be a Prime Minister in the present state of things. But, besides this, what is he to do as to these matters of *free-trade*. He has here, not only the aristocracy against him, but the most numerous part of the manufacturers, trade-owners and ship-owners, whom these free-trade projects have plunged into a state of ruin hitherto wholly unknown in England. The whole of the projects have completely failed, while the Trade Minister is receiving an additional two thousand pounds a year for having invented the projects. Mr. Tierney, the other night, drew a most dismal picture of the situation of the country, and this he used as an argument for dispatch in the appointing of a Prime Minister, hinting, at the same time, in no very unintelligi-

ble terms, that Mr. Canning ought to be that Prime Minister. This was pretty enough as a shot at the disapproving colleagues of Mr. Canning; but, Mr. Tierney seems to have forgotten that the figures portrayed in his dismal picture had been, in great part, created by the schemes of that Mr. Canning himself, who has had his full share as well in the remote, as in all the immediate causes of the present sufferings and dangers of the country.

It is plain that the aristocracy do not like Mr. Canning; and, really, when we calmly consider what it is to have a good estate and a title, and how loath men are to put them in jeopardy, one cannot reasonably blame them. Sir THOMAS LETHBRIDGE'S motion for an address to the King seems to be a most suitable answer or counterpart to the speech of Mr. TIERNEY. Mr. Tierney had said that there ought to be formed a cabinet in which there should be *unity of sentiment and principle*; in which the Ministers would pull

together; and that he thought that such a Ministry would be able to save the country. Sir Thomas Lethbridge is, therefore, only acting in accordance with this opinion of Mr. Tierney, when he proposes to address his Majesty to select such a Ministry as shall not be divided in principle. The one wishes for a Ministry that shall be *united*: the other wishes for a Ministry that shall *not be divided*. Mr. Tierney ought, therefore, to support Sir Thomas Lethbridge. Both wish for unity; but, I suspect, that the *means* of accomplishing the object are rather different. Mr. Tierney, I imagine, wishes unity to be produced by his and others cordially joining with Mr. Canning, and, I do believe, that Sir Thomas wishes to prevent division in future, by turning Mr. Canning out of the post which he now fills, and, thus, "set the question at rest for ever." And, what is more, I should not be at all surprised if this were the result; for, it must now be clear to every man of common sense, that

all the schemes of free-trade, of what are called liberal politics; that all these blandishments bestowed on the settled opponents of his own colleagues; that all these things put together, all the silly compliments bestowed upon Edinburgh Reviewers, clearly indicate that Mr. Canning means to place *his reliance* upon those who are called the *Whigs*, and that, if pushed from his office, he means to endeavour to regain it (or to get something more) by the assistance of his new allies. This must be plain to every man; and, that all his schemes of this sort will fail, I am as certain as that I am now sitting at this table.

The faction, on which he means to lean, is wholly without confidence on the part of the public. They have been laughed at for these ten years last past. They are, indeed, scarcely a faction;

and the whole thing, that used to be called Opposition, is become a mere nothing at all, presenting, in reality, no opposition at all to the Ministry, and being, if possible, still more foolish than the Ministers themselves. Upon the great question of all, the paper-money question, this faction has taken the lead in every thing erroneous and mischievous. In short, the people, almost the whole of the people, despise this faction, this rump of faction, more than they have ever despised any thing of the sort since I have had any knowledge of public affairs. This, therefore, would be a pretty sheet-anchor for a Prime Minister. But, this is a faction, which must eat and drink as well as other factions, and, therefore, to have their assistance, he must give them something for it; and then, we come back to the story of about two

months ago, of a Ministry to be composed of MR. CANNING, the MARQUIS OF LANSDOWN, Mr. BROUGHAM, and others of the Whigs. When that venerable old veteran patriot and pensioner, Mr. TIERNEY, was talking about an *union* of talents; about a *strong Ministry*; when the venerable old gentleman, who once said, that his constituents of the Borough, had given him a retaining fee for life, to plead against PITT and his principles; when the venerable old gentleman was talking thus, about the country being saved by this sort of *union*, I think it likely that he had running in his head, the very scheme above mentioned, of an union of MR. CANNING and the WHIGS. Besides all the other difficulties, that such a "*strong*" set would have in their way, there would be then, the utter impossibility of returning to Bank restriction and legal tender, without an open and barefaced abandonment of all the principles which these Whigs have been inculcating upon the subject for these last ten years. It would be bad enough if the present set of men were to return to Bank restriction; but, if the Whigs were to do it, they must absolutely be covered with spittle by the people, as completely as poor MR. STANLEY was by the very beautiful girls of *Preston*. The poor Whigs would, too, be destitute of STANLEY'S consolation. He was sure of getting his seat, from the very causes that drew forth the spittle upon him; while, on the contrary, the Whigs would see in the cause of the spittle, the cause also of their losing their places. But it is too monstrous to suppose, that these men would go back to Bank restriction. A

fellow who has stood a half a dozen times in the pillory, would feel horror at the thought of doing such a thing; of doing any thing so flagrantly unprincipled.

Now, though neither Bank restriction, nor any other measure that the wit of man can devise, will save this infernal paper-money system from going to pieces, still there is something, in the *time*, and something also, in the *manner*, of its going to pieces; and, as to both these, the Whigs having to do the thing, or, being in place at the time the thing was done, would certainly have a tendency to add to the mischief. They must keep their present law in force; they must proceed, if they be in power, until the whole of the one-pound notes be annihilated; or, at least, driven out of circulation. If there be force in the Government and in the laws

to push the thing on to this extent; if the progress be not interrupted by a general convulsion and breaking up of society, prices will fall so low, the produce of the land will fetch so small a nominal sum, that *no rents at all can or will be paid*. To this point, if convulsion come not before we arrive at it, the Whig fellows, if they be in power, must push the thing on. But, the same sort of necessity does not exist with regard to the *PITTITE* fellows, who are not pledged never to return to the paper system. On the contrary, they departed from that system with great reluctance, reluctance which they have expressed over and over again. They are fools for their pains; but, that is no matter. Their returning to the paper, cannot save the thing: the thing must be destroyed, let the Government do what it may;

but, Bank restriction would keep the convulsion away from us for a little while longer than it can be kept away, if the Whig politics be continued to be acted upon. Every man must die at last; but every man thinks that death always comes too soon. It is natural, therefore, for all those who are thriving under the present infernal system, to wish that system to last. Those who have offices that yield them good pay; those whose relations are fastened upon the taxes; those who have fat livings in their gift or in their possession; in short, the aristocracy, including the Church, the Army and Navy, the Civil List, and never forgetting the horrible Dead Weight: all these persons must wish to keep off a total blowing up as long as possible. By a return to the paper, this object might be accomplished for a little

while. Gold would be openly at a premium; two prices would soon come into the market; but, they might not come all at once. When they did come, they would be hardly visible, perhaps, for a few months; and, by judiciously employing the *broad-sheet*, the paper system might be made to carry the thing along for a little while; and, as I have just observed, to this system the *PITTITES* might consistently return; and, indeed, I have not the smallest doubt, that, if the free-trade and cash-payments-gentry were pushed out of the Cabinet, there would be a Bank restriction, even during the present session of Parliament.

This is a most weighty consideration with several of the most important classes of the people. Fundholders, as well as landholders; every body who has property and very little public spirit

(which generally go together in a state of things like this), dreads the final disappearance of the one pound notes. Farmers, traders of all descriptions, public-house keepers, monopolizing brewers, cormorant quakers, army, navy, dead weight, parsons, parsons' wives and daughters; all of them, including placemen, pensioners and sinecure men, women and children: these all *smell*; they cannot be said to reason about any thing; their faculty of discernment, in a case like this, does not rise higher than merely that of *smelling*; but, they all smell mischief in the disappearance of the one pound notes, and they look forward to the day of their extinction, as sinners do to the day of judgment. Well they may! for the extinguishment of those little dirty bits of paper will do that which one would almost believe was beyond the reach of mortal power, and to be achieved by nothing but Omnipotence; namely, compel about a hundred thousand tax-eating vagabonds and their families to do that which, as PADDY said, "nature shudders within them but to think of;" that is to say, **WORK FOR THEIR BREAD!** This is what the vagabonds are afraid of; this is what all their ingenuity is employed to avoid; this is what, if they think, your efforts tend to reduce them to; they would spill your blood with as little remorse as they would spill water out of a bowl. What loads of calumny, what loads of malice, have the Reformers had to endure at the hands of these vagabonds! In other respects they are like other people; but, do any thing that has a tendency to compel them to work for their bread, and they cut your throat, if they have it in their power.

All this numerous tribe are for a return to legal tender. They *smell*, that they must work for their bread, if wheat be sold at three or four shillings a bushel. The vagabond fellows of the press, *smell* to the same effect. They *smell*, that there could be no rents paid, if the wheat were to fall to three or four shillings a bushel ; and I have so pummelled their thick skulls, as to make them see that this present system could not go on long, if there were no rents. So that, they fear, that the destruction of the one-pound notes will put a stop to their printing and selling their stuff. This fear of theirs has the same foundation as the blood-inspiring, or rather the blood-shed-inspiring terrors of the tax-eaters ; both have the same foundation ; namely, an inexpressible horror of *being compelled to work*. This is the

cause of these broad-sheeted wretches being so anxious to uphold this system of paper-money, a system productive of mischiefs of all sorts ; but, which has for its great characteristic, a constant tendency to enable the insolent, the lazy, the upstarts, the bastardized breed of the country, all the worthless and the children of the worthless to live without labour, upon the fruit of the labour of others. Every wretch that is for this system, no matter in what rank of life ; no matter whether male or female ; every wretch, that lives, that expects to live, or that wishes to live without labour, out of the fruit of the labour of others, every such wretch smells mischief in the king's coin, and hankers after the paper-money.

A pretty life, therefore, the witty Mr. CANNING and his Whig associates would have to lead, by

the time that the one-pound notes would have been gone for about a fortnight or three weeks. Prices would fall so low, as to ruin every farmer and every trader, whose property consisted chiefly in the value of his stock; but, it is useless to waste one's time, in descriptions relative to the state of the country, in case of such a Ministry, and in case of such measures of perseverance. It is useless to talk about this; for, in all human probability, the whole thing would go to pieces, there would be a general convulsion in the country, aye, and a radical reform into the bargain, before the one-pound notes could wholly disappear. It is useless to waste one's time, in further prophecies about the matter; there is, in my yard, the Gridiron, a portrait of which is at the head of this Register. It is to go up at the front

of the house, No. 183, Fleet-street, whenever one or the other of the following things shall take place: 1. A repeal of Peel's Bill, in whole or in part: 2. A repeal, in the whole or in part, of the Small-note Bill, passed last year: 3. A reduction of the interest of what is called the National Debt, but which I call the Borough and Church Debt. I say that this Debt is due from those who contracted it, and I say, that those who could have nothing to do in contracting it, who had nothing to do, either directly or indirectly, in choosing the persons who made the loans, cannot, therefore, owe this Debt out of their estates or out of their bodies. However, be this as it may, if there be any reduction of the interest of this Debt, or if either of the other measures be adopted, up goes the Gridiron at the office of the Register, there to remain

as long as the Register itself shall continue to be published, a fac-simile of it being prepared, to be nailed upon my coffin, though I may be permitted to hope, I trust, that the fac-simile will not be wanted for some time yet to come. I am determined to have my revenge, my full measure, if I can get it, upon a system which has done so much mischief to my country in general, and has been the cause of such persecution to myself in particular.

I do not care a straw, with regard to this grand affair, who is the Minister, or what measures he may adopt: I know that nothing but acting upon *Norfolk Petition*, can possibly prevent the result which I contemplate. There is a notion, that the thing may be eked out; that it may be pushed along, from hand to mouth, by a succession of bills to *extend the*

time of putting out the one-pound notes. There is a notion, that by thus keeping an abolition bill constantly hanging over the heads of the paper-money makers, they will be held so much in check as to prevent them from issuing such quantities of paper as would drive the gold out of the country. In other words, that the thing might be thus gently pushed along so as not to produce any great fall from the present prices. This is the notion that I believe the Ministers entertain. Greatly do they deceive themselves; and, if they did not, the very best that they can hope, is, *that things may remain in their present state; a state as nearly approaching to an open defiance of the laws of property, as any state well can be.* That which used to be called theft or robbery, now scarcely goes by that name. In the neigh-

bourhood of even this well-fed
 WEN itself, scarcely a family
 can be said to go to bed in safety.
 In the country things are infinitely
 worse; and yet, if the present
 law continue in force, that which
 we now behold is a state of
 peace, plenty and safety, com-
 pared with that which we shall
 behold, *this day two years*, on
 which day (this being the 5th
 of April) those truly infernal ma-
 chines, the one-pound notes, are,
 as the law now stands, to cease to
 exist in England. So that, again,
 I say that, as to this matter, which
 is of consequence greater than all
 other matters put together, it sig-
 nifies not, with regard to the result,
 who is the Minister, but it signi-
 fies something with regard to *time*;
 and, for the reasons that I have
 before stated, I look upon Mr.
 CANNING as a man to hasten the
 total destruction of the paper-sys-

tem. I am, therefore, for Mr.
 CANNING: but, for the reasons
 which I have given, I think that
 those will be against him who, at
 present, have the power to let
 him in or to keep him out.

There is one thing, at any rate,
 of pleasing novelty; and that is,
 that we have now a candidate for
 the Premiership, who would fain
 make his appeal to the *people*;
 this is a novelty in the workings
 of the Thing. To the *people*, I
 would say, *praise nobody*; keep
 your praises for your own use;
 bestow praise upon no pretender
 to liberal principles, until he dis-
 tinctly declare his *hostility* to
Gatton and Old Sarum. The
 breaking up of the paper-system
 will, in all likelihood, be so po-
 tent in itself, as to prevent even
 the folly of the people themselves
 from making them stop short of a
 real radical reform; but, if the

people, having the power to effect such reform, were to neglect this opportunity to effect it, they would deserve, every man of them, and their children after them, to be the most wretched of all the slaves that ever disgraced the face of the earth. As far as the people have recently gone, in their petitions and speeches, they have acted wisely ; they have called for reduction of taxes, for disbanding of soldiers, for legal application of Church property to other purposes ; for equitable adjustment of contracts ; and, as a security against future extravagance, future enormous debts, and future evils of all sorts, they have called for a change in the manner of choosing those who make the laws : in other words, they have called for that reform in the Commons' House of Parliament, of which MR. CANNING, throughout the

whole of his life, has been an implacable enemy. Let the people keep on in this sensible course : let the King, as is his prerogative, choose his Ministers, and let the people never cease to endeavour to recover their right of choosing their representatives in Parliament.

WM. COBBETT.

DUKE OF YORK.

THE dead can wait, or else the deuce is in it. Several correspondents have begged me to *consider* well before I write upon this subject. I considered very well even before I talked of writing upon it ; and that these correspondents will see, when ever I shall find time and room for doing justice to the matter. The living are rather too busy and bustling just at this

time to leave me any spare hours wherein to deal with the dead ; but, I will deal, and will deal fairly too, with the history of the **DUKE OF YORK** : I will not, whatever others may choose to do, suffer myself and my readers to be insulted, and to submit in silence to such loads of insults from the miserable parasites of the press.

AMERICAN

KIDNEY BEANS.

I HAVE two sorts of these, the finest that ever were in England ; one of them the very earliest that I ever saw ; and the seed, in both cases, so ripe, sound, and excellent, that a large crop from it is certain.—One sort is *Yellow*, the other *Speckled* ; both are dwarfs.—Price—17s. a bushel, and smaller

quantities in proportion, with something added for paper, string, and trouble.—They are sold at the Office of the Register, No. 183, Fleet Street, and may be sent, by order, to any part of the country.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

To the Gentleman who was good enough to remind me of a piece of bad grammar in the Register, I have to say, “between you and me,” Sir, I wish that there might be, one of these days, two Registers running without a grammatical error in either ; for that is, upon my honour, what I never yet saw, though nobody can be more mortified than I am, when I perceive such errors after it is too late.

Just published, price 1s. 6d.

The Second Edition.

A MEMOIR addressed to the SOCIETY OF ARTS, on the PLANTING and REARING of FOREST TREES. By W. WITHERS, Jun. With an Appendix, containing Tables for ascertaining the progressive Annual Increase in the Growth of Trees.

"This excellent little Pamphlet is worthy of the attention of every Landowner in England. Mr. Withers has made divers experiments, and he has given an account of them in a manner, with a degree of public

spirit, that do him great honour as well in his character of planter as in that of an Englishman: it being manifest that he can have no motive but that of the good of his country and of his countrymen in general. His account is short, neat, plain, unassuming, and full of interest."—*Weekly Register*, Nov. 25, 1826.

Published by Longman and Co., Paternoster-Row, and to be had at the Office of the Register, 183, Fleet Street; at Ridgway's, Piccadilly, and of all other Booksellers.

MARKETS.

Average Prices of CORN throughout ENGLAND, for the week ending March 23.

Per Quarter.

	s.	d.		s.	d.
Wheat ..	56	10	Rye	38	8
Barley ..	87	1	Beans ...	48	3
Oats	30	5	Pease ...	49	9

Total Quantity of Corn returned as Sold in the Maritime Districts, for the week ended March 23.

	Qrs.		Qrs.
Wheat ..	40,335	Rye	216
Barley ..	20,447	Beans . . .	3,069
Oats ...	12,996	Pease	1,079

Corn Exchange, Mark Lane.

Quantities and Prices of British Corn, &c. sold and delivered in this Market, during the week ended Saturday, March 24.

	Qrs.	£.	s.	d.		s.	d.
Wheat..	3,938	for 11,723	15	9	Average, 59	6	
Barley..	3,332	.. 6,429	9	9	.....	38	7
Oats..	4,316	.. 7,105	6	4	.....	32	11
Rye....	—	.. 0	0	0	.....	0	0
Beans..	842	.. 1,908	11	9	.....	45	4
Pease..	547	.. 1,122	17	0	.....	49	1

Friday, March 30.—There have been fair arrivals this week of every description of Grain, and a considerable quantity of Flour. Prime Wheat has sold freely at Monday's prices; other kinds are very dull. Barley is unaltered. Beans and Pease meet a heavy trade, at last quotations. Oats are so extremely dull, that 1s. per quarter abatement has been submitted to.

Monday, April 2.—The quantities of all sorts of Grain reported last week were tolerably good, and of Flour considerable. This morning the fresh supply of Wheat, Barley, Beans, and Pease, from Essex, Kent, and Suffolk, are moderate, and only a few English and Foreign vessels up with Oats and Beans. Superfine samples of Wheat are scarce, and readily command last quotations, but there is a heavy trade for all other descriptions.

The best parcels of Barley have obtained an advance of 1s. per quarter on last quotations, with no alteration in other kinds. Beans, of good quality, are more in demand than of late, and they are 1s. per quarter higher; but this improvement does not extend to foreign samples. Pease, of both kinds, are unaltered. There is so very limited a demand for Oats, that all sorts may be quoted 1s. per quarter cheaper, with a very slow sale, even at this decline, for Feed parcels. The Flour trade continues very heavy.

Price on board Ship as under.

Flour, per sack	46s. — 50s.
— Seconds	42s. — 44s.
— North Country ..	40s. — 44s.

Price of Bread.—The price of the 4lb. Loaf is stated at 9d. by the full-priced Bakers.

Account of Wheat, &c. arrived in the Port of London, from March 26 to March 31, both inclusive.

	Qrs.		Qrs.
Wheat ..	4,873	Tares	83
Barley ..	3,355	Linseed ..	—
Malt	7,712	Rapeseed .	10
Oats	5,976	Brank ..	46
Beans ...	1,477	Mustard ..	—
Flour	10,051	Flax	—
Rye	25	Hemp	10
Pease	548	Seeds	14

Foreign.—Wheat, 539; Oats, 4,156; and Beans, 426 quarters.

Monday, April 2.—The arrivals from Ireland last week were, 2,515 firkins of Butter, and 4,000 bales of Bacon; and from Foreign Ports, 3,032 casks of Butter.

HOPS.

Price of Hops, per Cwt. in the Borough.

Monday, April 2.—Nothing doing in the Hop Trade. Prices rather lower.

Maidstone, March 29.—The Hop Market continues in the same dull state, and we do not look for much alteration until the appearance of the bine.

COAL MARKET, March 30.

Ships at Market. Ships sold. Price.

57½ Newcastle 20½ .. 29s. 6d. to 38s. 3d.
12 Sunderland 6½ .. 38s. 0d. — 39s. 0d.

SMITHFIELD.

Monday, April 2.—There was no alteration on Friday in the Beef Trade, but Mutton sold at advancing terms. To-day the supply of Beasts is pretty good, and the greater proportion consists of Scots, the best of which make a crown, though not many are in a condition to command so much. Sheep obtain more money than on Friday, and are dearer by 4d. a stone than on this day se'n-night, with a free demand. A few very superior Old Downs have obtained 5s. 6d.; and the few choice Leicesters at market 5s. 4d. in their wool. A pen or two of half-breds, as good as any thing here, could not obtain so high a bid as 5s. 4d. Old Ewes, and other ordinary Sheep, have partaken only in a limited degree of the improvement. Lamb is coming tolerably plentiful, and is quoted at 6s. to 7s. per stone.

Per Stone of 8 pounds (alive).

	s.	d.	s.	d.
Beef	4	0	to	5 0
Mutton ...	4	4	—	5 4
Veal	4	10	—	5 8
Pork	4	8	—	5 4
Lamb	6	0	—	7 0
Beasts ...	2,330		Sheep ..	16,490
Calves ...	128		Pigs ...	140

NEWGATE, (same day.)

Per Stone of 8 pounds (dead).

	s.	d.	s.	d.
Beef	3	4	to	4 8
Mutton ...	4	0	—	4 8
Veal	3	4	—	5 4
Pork	3	8	—	5 8
Lamb	0	0	—	0 0

LEADENHALL, (same day.)

Per Stone of 8 pounds (dead).

	s.	d.	s.	d.
Beef ...	3	8	to	4 4
Mutton ...	3	8	—	4 8
Veal	4	0	—	5 4
Pork	4	8	—	5 8
Lamb	0	0	—	0 0

POTATOES.

SPITALFIELDS, per Ton.

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>		<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>
Ox-Nobles.....	4	0	to	0	0
Middlings.....	2	10	—	3	0
Chats.....	2	0	—	0	0
Common Red..	0	0	—	0	0

Onions, 0s. 0d.—0s. 0d. per bush.

BOROUGH, per Ton.

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>		<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>
Ox-Nobles....	3	10	to	4	0
Middlings.....	2	10	—	0	0
Chats.....	2	0	—	0	0
Common Red..	3	10	—	4	0

HAY and STRAW, per Load.

Smithfield.—Hay....80s. to 115s.

Straw...40s. to 45s.

Clover. 100s. to 135s.

St. James's.—Hay....84s. to 125s.

Straw..37s. to 48s.

Clover. 126s. to 135s.

Whitechapel.—Hay....75s. to 115s.

Straw...36s. to 42s.

Clover..84s. to 135s.

AVERAGE PRICE OF CORN, sold in the Maritime Counties of
England and Wales, for the Week ended March 23, 1827.

	Wheat.		Barley.		Oats.	
	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
London*	60	1...	38	1...	32	5
Essex	60	6...	35	11...	31	3
Kent	55	11...	39	2...	29	8
Sussex	55	3...	40	5...	29	0
Suffolk	56	0...	34	8...	30	1
Cambridgeshire	52	7...	32	7...	26	7
Norfolk	54	9...	34	10...	30	6
Lincolnshire	56	5...	39	8...	27	2
Yorkshire	55	9...	40	8...	31	1
Durham	55	1...	42	0...	33	2
Northumberland	54	3...	37	6...	33	10
Cumberland	63	4...	38	1...	35	6
Westmoreland	63	9...	46	0...	37	7
Lancashire	61	6...	42	0...	36	11
Cheshire	59	3...	49	0...	35	5
Gloucestershire	59	1...	43	1...	37	9
Somersetshire	50	5...	39	5...	29	9
Monmouthshire	59	11...	49	1...	0	0
Devonshire	56	7...	38	2...	37	4
Cornwall	57	3...	37	4...	37	4
Dorsetshire	55	6...	37	10...	35	1
Hampshire	57	2...	38	4...	31	9
North Wales	61	10...	43	7...	32	0
South Wales	58	2...	40	10...	27	3

* The London Average is always that of the Week preceding.

Bristol, March 31.—The Corn markets here continue very dull, except for prime Barley, which is advanced full 1s. per quarter since this day week, the supply of which article is short. Present prices are nearly as follows:—Wheat, from 6s. to 7s. 6d.; Barley, 4s. 4d. to 5s. 10½d.; Beans, 5s. 6d. to 8s. 3d.; Oats, 2s. 1½d. to 4s.; and Malt, 6s. to 8s. per bushel, Imperial. Flour, Seconds, 33s. to 43s. per bag.

Derby, March 31.—Grain sold at our market, as below:—Best Wheat, 58s. to 63s.; Barley for Malting, 44s. to 48s.; Grinding ditto, 33s. to 42s.; Oats, 38s. to 44s.; Feed ditto, 30s. to 36s.; and Beans, 56s. to 63s., per eight bushels Imperial.

Guildford, March 31.—Wheat, new, for meal, 14l. to 17l. per load. Barley, 38s. to 42s.; Oats, 33s. to 44s.; Beans, 54s. to 58s.; Pease, grey, 60s. to 64s.; ditto, boilers, 62s. to 64s. per quarter. Tares, 12s. per bushel.

Horncastle, March 31.—No alteration in the prices of Wheat, Oats, and Pease; Rye and Barley something better; Beans lower than this day week.—Wheat, from 52s. to 56s.; Barley, 40s. to 42s.; Oats, 30s. to 38s.; Pease, 60s.; Beans, 55s. to 60s.; and Rye from 40s. to 42s. per quarter.

Ipswich, March 31.—We had to-day a small supply of all Grain. Barley was 1s. per qr. dearer; other Grain much as last week. Prices as follow:—Wheat, 52s. to 62s.; Barley, 35s. to 40s.; Beans, 45s. to 47s.; and Pease, 48s. per quarter.

Manchester, March 31.—There has been nothing material passing in the Corn trade during the week. At our market to-day we had a full attendance of country dealers, &c., and fine Wheats fully support last week's rates, while the inferior (of which there was a considerable quantity offering from Yorkshire) could not be disposed of, at a reduction of 2d. to 3d. per bushel of 70lbs. Barley for grinding in request, at the prices of this day se'nnight. Oats were in better demand, at an advance of ½d. to 1d. per 45lbs. There is a good demand for Boiling Pease, at 3d. to 6d. per bushel advance. The holders of fine Malts are demanding rather more money, which is only complied with by necessitous buyers. Flour continues dull, at last week's rates.

Newcastle-on-Tyne, March 31.—We had a good supply of Wheat from the farmers, and having had, through the week, some arrivals coastwise, the market was well supplied this morning, but the millers are short of stock, and they bought freely, at 1s. per qr. advance. Rye continues in demand, at former prices. Malting Barley is very scarce, and the first arrivals will, probably, sell at higher prices than the above quotations. Malt dull sale. A considerable arrival of white Pease, has caused a decline of 3s. per quarter on that article. We had a good supply of Oats, which was sold at fully last week's prices.

Norwich, March 31.—The supply of Wheat to-day was but small, and rather dearer.

Reading, March 31.—We had a better supply of Wheat at our market this day, the general quality of which was rough; the sale was dull, at much the same prices as last week.—Old Wheat, 58s. to 68s.; New ditto, 56s. to 66s. by the Imperial measure. There was a short supply of Barley; the demand was good, and prices advanced 1s. to 2s. per quarter. Oats met a brisk sale, at last week's prices. In Beans and Peas no alteration.

Wakefield, March 30.—We have a large supply of Wheat this morning; good dry samples sell very slowly, at last week's prices, and all other descriptions are very dull.

COUNTRY CATTLE AND MEAT MARKETS, &c.

Hereford, March 31.—Beef, 8s. per stone of 14 lbs.; Mutton, 8d.; Pork, 8d.; and Veal, 8d. to 9d. per lb.

Manchester Smithfield Market, March 31.—The prices of Beef and Mutton have advanced $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per lb., and the best fat things were soon taken off at the advance, while the lean sorts were dull in sale, there being a considerable quantity sent to market on account of the high price of feed and scarcity of money. Veal and Pork were about $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per lb. lower than last week.—Beef, $\frac{5}{8}$ d. to 8d.; Mutton, 7d. to $8\frac{1}{2}$ d.; Veal, 5d. to $6\frac{1}{2}$ d.; and Pork, 4d. to $5\frac{1}{2}$ d. per lb. sinking off.

At Morpeth Market, March 31, there was a good supply of Cattle and Sheep; there being a great demand, fat of the former sold readily, at an advance in price; the latter met with rather dull sale, at a reduction.—Beef, from 6s. to 7s. 3d.; and Mutton, 7s. 6d. to 8s. 6d. per stone, sinking off.

Norwich Cattle Meadow, March 31.—We had a good supply of fat Cattle to this market, and more money was asked for them, but not complied with; prices 7s. 6d. to 8s. per stone of 14 lbs. sinking off; the supply of Store Stock was also large; Scots sold for 3s. 9d. to 4s. per stone of 14 lbs., what they will weigh when fat; only a few of inferior Shorthorns at 3s.; Cows and Calves, and Homebreds, of one and two years old, almost unsaleable, on account of the great scarcity of keeping. Meat: Beef, $\frac{5}{8}$ d. to $\frac{7}{8}$ d.; Veal, 6d. to 8d.; Mutton, 6d. to $7\frac{1}{2}$ d.; Lamb, 10d.; and Pork, 6d. to 8d. per lb.